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978-1-107-00798-7 - Carl Goerdeler and the Jewish Question, 1933-1942

Peter Hoffmann

Excerpt

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## I

## Introduction

Carl Friedrich Goerdeler, born in 1884, witnessed the increasing turmoil that enveloped Jews in Eastern Europe during and after the First World War. He engaged in efforts to influence the fate of the Jews from the moment when Adolf Hitler was appointed chancellor in Germany in 1933. The events leading up to this sea change in German politics formed a part of Goerdeler's political and social consciousness.

When in October 1918 the German Empire could no longer withstand the overwhelming numbers of fresh American troops and their vastly superior quantities in weaponry and munitions, the imperial government addressed its request for an armistice to the American president Woodrow Wilson and invoked the Fourteen Points that he had declared as his basis for peace. The president replied that an armistice would be granted on condition that the monarchies were removed and a representative government put in place. Secretary of State Robert Lansing signed the final note of 23 October 1918 that contained this condition. On the following day, the leading German newspapers published the full text of Lansing's note on their front pages. Soldiers and socialists mounted demonstrations and other means of pressure, which by 9/10 November resulted in the departure of Emperor William II into exile in Holland, and in the abdications of his German brother monarchs. A temporary government, the Council of People's Commissars, presided over the withdrawal of the imperial armed forces from occupied territories, the evacuation of territories the enemies were going to annex, the military occupation of additional German territories, and the handing over of thousands of units of railway rolling stock including 5,000 locomotives, and most of Germany's artillery and other weapons, aeroplanes, submarines. On

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19 January 1919, the Council of People's Commissars held elections for a national constituent assembly that met at Weimar to escape the revolutionary turmoil in Berlin; the Council of People's Commissars and, from 13 February 1919, the new government fought militant extremists of the right and the left. The Allied and Associated Powers excluded the German government from the negotiation of the 'treaty of peace'. Their 'treaty' declared Germany responsible and liable for having begun the war in 1914. They forced the German government, by continuing the food blockade against the German population and threatening military occupation of the entire country, to accept the Treaty of Versailles. The government had to agree to pay reparation sums in an amount of which it would be informed only in 1921. The government signed the treaty on 28 June 1919; the blockade was lifted on 12 July. The reparation payments were designed to weaken Germany in the long term and, when Germany predictably defaulted in reparation payments, to enable France to occupy more German territory than the Treaty of Versailles stipulated. The German government in April 1921 faced either foreign occupation of additional German territory, or acceptance of Allied reparation demands. The government hoped that in return for acceptance, the Allies would honour the results of the plebiscite in Upper Silesia that had decided against joining Poland by a margin of 228,028 votes in favour of Germany; 707,393 or 59.4 percent had opted for Germany, and 479,365 or 40.3 percent for Poland. At the same time, the German government had agreed, by signing the Treaty of Versailles, to pay whatever demands were made in 1921, and it adopted a 'fulfilment policy' of attempting to meet reparation demands in order to demonstrate that the demands were excessive. The long-term goal was to achieve a revision of reparation demands, or, by failing to meet demands, to sabotage the reparation policy. Chancellor Dr. Josef Wirth declared before the *Reichstag* on 1 June 1921 that loyal German efforts to meet the demands could save Germany from further enemy invasions and occupation, and that only a genuine effort could elicit the world's understanding for Germany's difficult situation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Rocznik statystyki. Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Rok wydania I 1920/22. Część II. Annuaire statistique de la République Polonaise. I-ère année 1920/22. Partie II.* Warszawa: Nakładem Głównego Urzędu Statystycznego, 1923, p. 358; *Encyclopedia Powstań Śląskich*, Opole: Instytut Śląski w Opolu, 1982, pp. 400, 677, et seq.; George J. Lerski, *Historical Dictionary of Poland, 966-1945*, Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 1996, pp. 545-46; Dr. Josef Wirth, *Reich* chancellor, 'Erklärung der Reichsregierung', in *Verhandlungen des Reichstags: I. Wahlperiode 1920*, vol. 349, Berlin: Norddeutsche Buchdruckerei und Verlags-Anstalt, 1921, pp. 3709-17; William Kleine-Ahlbrandt, *The Burden of Victory: France, Britain and the Enforcement of the Versailles Peace, 1919-1925*,

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The implication was not hard to grasp of what would happen if the world's understanding did not come about. The Allies decided that Poland was to have Upper Silesia regardless. The German government and the nation felt duped, and the government did all it could to escape as many reparation demands as possible. Germany paid billions in gold marks and delivered millions and millions worth of goods, while asking for moratoria and allowing inflation to mount. In December 1922, the Allied Reparation Commission declared Germany in default for having failed to deliver 23,560 cubic meters of lumber out of 55,000, and 141,648 telephone poles out of 200,000.<sup>2</sup> On 11 January 1923, French and Belgian military forces occupied Germany's industrial heartland, the Ruhr region, and established a harsh regime with executions, mass expulsions, and economic restrictions making Germany even less able to meet her reparation obligations. The German currency collapsed in hyperinflation, and the government narrowly survived left-wing and right-wing

Lanham, New York, London: University Press of America, 1995, p. 109. Denise Artaud, *La Question des dettes interallies et la reconstruction de l'europe (1917-1929)*, Lille: Université de Lille, Atelier national de reproduction des theses, 1978, pp. 449, 457; see also J. Bariéty, *Les relations franco-allemandes après la première guerre mondiale*, Paris : Éditions Pedone, 1977; Derek Croxton, *Peacemaking in Early Modern Europe: Cardinal Mazarin and the Congress of Westphalia, 1643-1648*, London: Associated University Press, 1999; Conan Fischer, *The Ruhr Crisis, 1923-1924*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003; Walter A. McDougall, *France's Rhineland Diplomacy, 1914-1924: The Last Bid for a Balance of Power in Europe*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978; Allied Powers Reparation Commission, *Report on the Work of the Reparation Commission from 1920 to 1922*, vol. 5: *Reparation Papers of the Allied Powers Reparation Commission*, London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1928; Stephen A. Schuker argues that Minister-President (15 January 1922-26 March 1924) Raymond Poincaré was convinced that the German government deliberately ruined the German currency in order to create a false impression of bankruptcy and sabotage the reparation system, in *The End of French Predominance in Europe: The Financial Crisis of 1924 and the Adoption of the Dawes Plan*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976, pp. 22-24, 178-79; Schuker cites as 'documentary evidence' unspecified 'Reich Chancellery, Foreign Ministry, and Finance Ministry files [that] confirm the contemporary impressions of Costantino Bresciani-Turroni', who then served as head of the export control section of the Committee of Guarantees of the Allied Reparation Commission; Sally Marks, 'The Myths of Reparations', *Central European History* 11 (1978): 238, cites specific British and French documents showing that British and French experts believed 'that Germany was deliberately ruining the mark, partly to avoid budgetary and currency reform, but primarily to escape reparations'; for German intentions, however, she cites Schuker, who fails to cite specific documents. See further Albert Schwarz, 'Die Weimarer Republik', in Leo Just, ed., *Handbuch der Deutschen Geschichte*, vol. 4, 1st part, 3rd section, pp. 78-79, 83; Klaus Hildebrand, *Das vergangene Reich: Deutsche Aussenpolitik von Bismarck bis Hitler 1871-1945*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1995, pp. 415-16.

<sup>2</sup> *Reparation Commission*, vol. 5: *Report: On the Work of the Reparation Commission from 1920 to 1922*, London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1923, p. 141.

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putsches, until America intervened and rescued Germany financially with the Dawes Plan of 1924. A period of relative recovery and prosperity followed. The Weimar Republic signed the Locarno Treaty with France that guaranteed the existing border between the two countries and provided France with a modicum of the security that she had sought in a treaty that Britain and the United States of America had not ratified. There was no guarantee of Germany's eastern border, and the German government did not conceal its wish to revise it. Germany also had tolerable relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). In October 1929 the New York stock market crashed, the Great Depression followed, banks failed, massive unemployment set in, political life in Germany became destabilised, and emergency governments under presidential authority tried to stem a virtual civil war.

By 1932, Adolf Hitler's National Socialist German Workers Party (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*, NSDAP), running on a nationalist programme to exclude all foreign influences and especially Jews, attracted 37.4 percent of the vote in national elections. Hitler openly announced that he was using the liberties of the constitution in order to destroy the republic and its constitution, run the country on the *Führer* Principle, and have Marxists and Communists lined up against a wall and shot.<sup>3</sup> Political adventurers and intriguers in the entourage of the ageing president, Paul von Hindenburg, succeeded in having Hitler appointed chancellor on 30 January 1933.

The National Socialists soon called it the *Führer's* Seizure of Power and everywhere began to act as their *Führer's* agents and deputies. The party's SA Stormtroopers rounded up thousands of political opponents who disappeared in concentration camps, and political and personal enemies were targets, without judicial process or control. Hitler cited threats to public security and obtained presidential approval for an emergency decree of 4 February 1933 that allowed the government to suppress rival political activities.<sup>4</sup> On 17 February, Hermann Göring, as Prussian interior minister, ordered the Prussian police to use their firearms in encounters with 'Communist terrorist acts and attacks' and threatened disciplinary

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, pp. 588-89.

<sup>4</sup> Karl Dietrich Bracher, Wolfgang Sauer, and Gerhard Schulz, *Die nationalsozialistische Machtergreifung: Studien zur Errichtung des totalitären Herrschaftssystems in Deutschland 1933/34*, 2nd ed., Cologne-Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1962, pp. 31-168; Henry Ashby Turner Jr., *Hitler's Thirty Days to Power*, Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1996; 'Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten zum Schutze des Deutschen Volkes. Vom 4. Februar 1933', in *Reichsgesetzblatt. Teil I. Jahrgang 1933* (RGBl. [Reichsgesetzblatt] I 1933), Berlin: Reichsverlagsamt, 1933, pp. 35-40.

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action against policemen ‘who display weakness’. The decree was published verbatim on the front page of the NSDAP’s newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter* on 21 February 1933.<sup>5</sup> Thousands of citizens were detained and mistreated, and many were murdered, just as Hitler had promised he would do.<sup>6</sup> When a Dutch anarchist set fire to the Parliament (*Reichstag*) building on 27 February, a further emergency decree suspended all essential civil liberties.<sup>7</sup> More waves of arrests followed. According to a statistic prepared in the *Reich* Ministry of the Interior, 26,789 persons were held in ‘protective custody’ on 31 July 1933. This number included only detentions under judicial and police authority; additional thousands were detained in extralegal SA and SS prisons and camps. The average number of concentration-camp inmates from 1933 to 1 September 1939 was 25,000; in the aftermath of the November 1938 pogrom, when 35,000 Jews were put into concentration camps, it temporarily reached 60,000. During the war, the total number of concentration-camp inmates climbed to over 224,000 in August 1943, 524,286 in August 1944, and 714,211 by 15 January 1945.<sup>8</sup>

With new parliamentary elections scheduled for 5 March 1933, the National Socialists exploited all legal and illegal means at their disposal to bully and terrorise the voters into supporting the NSDAP, and they still received only 43.9 percent of the vote. The Communist Party received 12.3 percent; their elected deputies were not allowed to take their seats, but were imprisoned or driven into exile. A nationalist party in coalition with the NSDAP, the German National People’s Party (*Deutschnationale Volkspartei, DNVP*) received 8.0 percent; this and the elimination of the Communists gave Hitler a comfortable majority, and promises and lies secured the support of two other parties to produce the necessary two-thirds majority to pass an Enabling Act that abrogated the constitution and gave the government dictatorial powers. The *Reichstag* became a rubberstamp for whatever the government decreed. The Jews in Germany were officially and aggressively discriminated against, persecuted, oppressed, and progressively robbed of their assets.

<sup>5</sup> *Völkischer Beobachter*, Munich ed., 21 February 1933, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Gellately, *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 58–59.

<sup>7</sup> ‘Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten zum Schutz von Volk und Staat. Vom 28. Februar 1933’, in *RGBl.* 1933 I, p. 83.

<sup>8</sup> Martin Broszat, ‘Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager 1933–1945’, in Hans Buchheim, Martin Broszat, Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, and Helmut Krausnick, eds., *Anatomie des SS-Staates*, vol. 2, Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1967, pp. 13–24, 80–81, 124–33.

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Four days after his appointment as chancellor, on 3 February 1933, Hitler addressed the senior commanders of the armed forces (*Reichswehr*) to declare his intention to re-arm and to expand German 'living space' (*Lebensraum*) by force of arms, and to 'Germanise' the soil thus conquered, but not the population. If France has statesmen, he said, it will not allow Germany to re-arm.<sup>9</sup> Only extremely obtuse persons could have misunderstood Hitler. He was going to wage aggressive war, and he was going to cause large numbers of human beings to perish.

A reasonable balance of power on the continent, however, required a measure of German re-armament. The Treaty of Versailles limited the German Armed Forces to 100,000 men serving long terms, so that Germany had no qualified reservists. France had a peace-time standing army in 1933 of 600,000 and could mobilise 900,000 reservists; Poland had a 284,000-man standing army and could mobilise a total of 1.2 million; the Czechoslovak, Yugoslav, and Romanian armies were 110,000, around 100,000, and 562,000 strong, respectively, without reservists. France and Poland were allied from 1921, Czechoslovakia acceded in 1933, and France had alliances with Yugoslavia and Romania from 1933.<sup>10</sup>

There was talk about a Franco-Polish intervention against Germany.<sup>11</sup> In May 1933, the phrase 'the dismemberment of Germany' was heard in Paris and in Washington.<sup>12</sup> Józef Piłsudski, first marshal of Poland, who served as war minister in all Polish cabinets since May 1925, had long made preparations for a 'preventive war' against Germany; since 1930 he had been considering a 'police action' against Germany in conjunction with France and under the aegis of the League of Nations. In March 1933

<sup>9</sup> Thilo Vogelsang, 'Neue Dokumente zur Geschichte der Reichswehr 1930-1933', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 2 (1954): 435; Andreas Wirsching, "Man kann nur Boden germanisieren": Eine neue Quelle zu Hitlers Rede vor den Spitzen der Wehrmacht am 3. Februar 1933', *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 49 (2001): 547-48.

<sup>10</sup> *The Statesman's Year-Book: Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the World for the Year 1934*, London: Macmillan 1934, pp. 796, 873-78, 950, 1217-18, 1247, 1260-61, 1377.

<sup>11</sup> The Chairman of the American Foreign Policy Association James G. McDonald, long active in League of Nations work, who became League of Nations high commissioner for refugees coming from Germany later in 1933, had known the German *Reichsbank* president Hjalmar Schacht for some years and also had other connections in Germany, one of them being Ernst Hanfstaengl, Hitler's foreign-press spokesman, whom McDonald saw almost daily in the spring of 1933. James G. McDonald, *Advocate for the Doomed: The Diaries and Papers of James G. McDonald 1932-1935*, ed. by Richard Breitman, Barbara McDonald Stewart, and Severin Hochberg, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007, p. 44.

<sup>12</sup> McDonald, *Advocate*, pp. 5-7, 68. Cf. Hans Roos, *A History of Modern Poland*, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1966, pp. 129-30.

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he intended to occupy Danzig, East Prussia, and German Upper Silesia as 'territorial pledges' in order to force Germany to obey the Versailles Treaty provisions concerning armament and frontiers. He would force Hitler to resign, whereupon he would evacuate all occupied territories except Danzig. France, however, wanted nothing to do with these Polish proposals in March and April 1933. When Piłsudski sent Hitler an ultimatum demanding a commitment, Hitler, informed of Polish plans for 'preventive war', promised to respect the German-Polish frontier. When the influential American journalist Walter Lippmann on 16 May asked James G. McDonald, chairman of the (American) Foreign Policy Association and a candidate for the post of American ambassador to Berlin, what would happen if France and Poland occupied Germany, McDonald said he guessed 'a wholesale slaughter of the Jews'.<sup>13</sup> McDonald understood better than most of his contemporaries what Hitler was about.

When rivalry between the party 'army' of more than four million Stormtroopers (SA) and the small professional army reached dangerous levels, Hitler decided against the militarily worthless SA and had their leaders murdered on 30 June and 1 July 1934. He secured 'revisions' of the Treaty of Versailles year after year, including a naval agreement with Britain in 1935, restoration of the universal draft in the same year, the unveiling of an air force, and the re-militarisation of the left bank of the Rhine in March 1936.

Persecution of the Jews was a constant in Nazi domestic policy, many Jews being insulted and assaulted in the streets of Berlin, Königsberg, Breslau, and Halle, with the regional and national press hurling threats and invectives against them. Hitler's anti-Jewish policies were not, to be sure, entirely innovative. The Prussian Interior Ministry had issued directives to curtail name changes by Jews with 'Jewish' names in November 1932, and there were restrictions upon immigration and naturalisation of Jews.<sup>14</sup> Facing anti-German boycott movements abroad as responses to antisemitism in Germany, Hitler used the opportunity on 28 March 1933 to call for a national counter-boycott against Jewish businesses.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> McDonald, *Advocate*, p. 69.

<sup>14</sup> Uwe Dietrich Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich*, Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1972, pp. 43-46.

<sup>15</sup> Alfred Wiślicki, 'The Jewish Boycott Campaign against Nazi Germany and Its Culmination in the Halbersztadt Trial', in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, vol. 8, London, Washington: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1994, pp. 282-83; cf. *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 21, p. 219; McDonald, *Advocate*, pp. 27-29. For immigration and naturalisation restrictions, see below at pp. 38, 146, 154-58.



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According to Hitler's foreign-press chief, Ernst Hanfstaengl, Hitler had been waiting for such an opportunity; when Hanfstaengl told him of the boycott agitation abroad, he said the Jews must be crushed, and now 'their fellows abroad have played into our hands'. And Hanfstaengl, in recounting this to McDonald, said the Nazis will handle 600,000 Jews easily, 'each Jew has his SA', and 'in a single night it could be finished'.<sup>16</sup>

The boycott day, 1 April 1933, was a Saturday when department stores were open while observant Jews kept their businesses closed, but there was violence, there were threats against Jews, and some were pilloried. The boycott ended after that first day.<sup>17</sup> It had only been a beginning. A far-from-complete list of other anti-Jewish measures includes the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service of 7 April 1933, which had been in preparation well before the boycott; it was a pervasive and enduring measure.<sup>18</sup> It resulted in distress for civil servants forced to retire; many physicians, notaries, lawyers, and other professionals were forced to cease practicing; Catholic priests and Lutheran ministers who were converts from Judaism lost their livings. Under this and other laws, ordinances, and decrees, and often by illegal actions and intimidation, many factory owners, businessmen, and bankers were expropriated, their property was 'Aryanised', and emigrants lost most of their assets. A law in July 1933 enabled the government to de-naturalise Jews of East European origin.<sup>19</sup> Jewish tax consultants had their licences withdrawn by decree on 6 April and by law on 6 May 1933.<sup>20</sup> Jews had to give up jury service and any honorary positions in organisations such as veterans' associations and social-insurance corporations. The Prussian Ministry for Science, Arts and Public Education (*Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung*) denied Jewish students and candidates for teaching posts admission to examinations and certification; Jewish soldiers and officers were to be dismissed, although the military authorities balked

<sup>16</sup> McDonald, *Advocate*, pp. 27, 31.

<sup>17</sup> Joseph Goebbels, *Die Tagebücher*, Teil I, Band 2/III, Munich: K.G. Saur, 2006, pp. 156-62.

<sup>18</sup> 'Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums. Vom 7. April 1933', in *RGBl. I 1933*, pp. 175-77; 'Erste Verordnung zur Durchführung des Gesetzes zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums. Vom 11. April 1933', in *RGBl. I 1933*, p. 195.

<sup>19</sup> 'Gesetz über den Widerruf von Einbürgerungen und die Aberkennung der deutschen Staatsangehörigkeit. Vom 14. Juli 1933', and 'Verordnung zur Durchführung des Gesetzes über den Widerruf von Einbürgerungen und die Aberkennung der deutschen Staatsangehörigkeit. Vom 26. Juli 1933', in *RGBl. I 1933*, pp. 480, 538-39.

<sup>20</sup> Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich*, p. 73; 'Gesetz über die Zulassung von Steuerberatern. Vom 6. Mai 1933', in *RGBl. 1933 I*, pp. 257-58.



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at this. Jewish writers, journalists, and artists could no longer publish or publicly display their work, and academics were either dismissed under the 7 April 1933 law, or harassed into vacating their posts.<sup>21</sup>

Thousands of Jews emigrated. The depletion and contraction of many Jewish communities were reflected in synagogues and prayer rooms falling into disuse and being abandoned or sold. There were marked regional differences. In Baden and Württemberg, numerous synagogues and prayer rooms were either closed or sold long before 1933, a good number between 1933 and 1938.<sup>22</sup> Laws to regulate legitimate membership in the German *Reich* based on racial criteria were announced on 4 July 1933, but not promulgated until September 1935. On 18 August 1933, *Reichsbank* president Hjalmar Schacht described to McDonald the visit that the president of the Chase Bank, Winthrop Aldrich, had paid to Hitler. Before Aldrich could mention the Jews, Hitler told Aldrich that there had been no protest when some 20,000–30,000 black troops had occupied the German Rhineland, from 1919 to 1929. Moreover, if the other powers were so anxious to help the Jews, why did they not open their doors to them; Germany was only doing belatedly with the restrictions upon Eastern Jews and Jews of Eastern origin what the United States and other countries had long since done more effectively.<sup>23</sup> When the American secretary of state, Cordell Hull, in September 1933 wanted to know if the United States could issue a statement in favour of settling Jews in other parts of the world than Germany, the State Department chief of the Division of Western European Affairs, Jay Pierrepont Moffat, advised that this would be illogical when the United States limited admissions to a small number under the quota system while any German Jew who could prove that he would not become a public charge could enter the United States under the German quota (which was never exhausted).<sup>24</sup>

The question of assets that German authorities allowed Jewish emigrants to take with them remained one of the main obstacles to their emigration.<sup>25</sup> McDonald, from October 1933 League of Nations high commissioner for refugees coming from Germany, never tired of trying

<sup>21</sup> Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich*, pp. 73–80; cf. Peter Hoffmann, *Stauffenberg: A Family History, 1905–1944*, 3rd ed., Montreal, Kingston, London, Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009, pp. 64–65.

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.ashkenazhouse.org/memorialcoin.html>.

<sup>23</sup> McDonald, *Advocate*, pp. 82–83.

<sup>24</sup> McDonald, *Advocate*, p. 101.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. McDonald, *Advocate*, pp. 141–42.

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to find funding for German Jewish emigrants in 1933 and 1934, but the responses to his appeals from Jewish organisations as well as private persons who had the means were discouraging, to put it mildly.<sup>26</sup> On 5 May 1934, he wrote to Felix Warburg, Max Warburg's brother in America, one of the most important American Jewish leaders, that 'the more I hear of vague and always indefinite talks about possibilities of immigration to other parts of the world, the more I appreciate the value of Palestine. At any rate, there you have something more than beautiful sounding words which, when analyzed, so often mean nothing'.<sup>27</sup> When McDonald was preparing to leave his post as high commissioner, in July 1935, he reported that more than 80,000 Jewish persons had become 'refugees' (not counting tens of thousands of other Jews who had left Germany without becoming a factor in the statistic of refugees); 27,000 of them had settled in Palestine, 6,000 in the United States, 3,000 in South America, 800 in other countries, 18,000 had been repatriated to countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and 27,000 were still refugees in Europe. In the two years of McDonald's tenure, U.S. \$10 million had been raised, of which \$3 million were contributions from American Jews and 2.5 million from British Jews.<sup>28</sup> The German government rejected McDonald's efforts to obtain its agreement to a planned, orderly emigration of German Jews with the help of funds raised outside Germany, and Foreign Minister von Neurath in March 1934 refused to receive him a second time after he had made his proposal. On 12 March 1934, the American ambassador William E. Dodd informed Hitler that McDonald had some millions of dollars at his disposal to be spent mostly in Germany to assist Jews to emigrate, and that in this way the problem could be solved in about eight to ten years. Hitler replied that no matter how many millions of dollars were put into the project, nothing would come of it because the Jews in Germany and outside would only attack Germany and make endless trouble.<sup>29</sup> Attempts of American Jews and non-Jews to intervene on behalf of the German Jews only confirmed Hitler in his belief that the democracies as well as the Soviet Union were run by Jews.

Historians of Hitler's dictatorship have noted a pause in major anti-Jewish legislation during the months from July 1933 to September

<sup>26</sup> McDonald, *Advocate*, pp. 177-79, 342, 383.

<sup>27</sup> McDonald, *Advocate*, pp. 383, 387-88.

<sup>28</sup> McDonald, *Advocate*, p. 783; the editors cite the *New York Times* 18 July 1935, p. 1, for the full text of the report.

<sup>29</sup> McDonald, *Advocate*, pp. 317-18.